

VOLUME 3 NO. 1 May 2014

ISSN 2301-8208

Andalus Journal of International Studies



Ali Maksum

The Free Press in Indonesia as Human Security?: A Preliminary Analysis

Sofia Trisni

The performance of Free Aceh Movement (GAM) as a Ruling Government 2007-2012

Kevin Ramadhan Sandy

Solving the South China Sea Crisis: A Recommendation for Indonesia

Mohammad Syaban

Kepemerintahan Bencana (Disaster Governance) Asia Tenggara

Trio Sirmareza

Popular Nationalism Dalam Kebijakan Luar Negeri Tiongkok Terhadap Jepang Pada Sengketa Kepulauan Senkaku/Diaoyu

Andalus Journal of
International
Studies

Volume 3

No. 1

Halaman
1-102

Padang
May 2014

ISSN
2301-8208



**Andalus Institute of International Studies
International Relations Department
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Andalus University**

Andalas Journal of International Studies

ISSN :2301 - 8208

Published by
Andalas Institute of International Studies – ASSIST
International Relations Department
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Universitas Andalas
Padang

Editor in Chief	: Haiyyu Darman Moenir
Editorial Board	: Ranny Emilia, Apriwan
Associate Editors	: Virtuous Setyaka, Putiviola Elia Nasir, Sofia Trisni
Design/lay out	: Trio Sirmareza/Ardila Putri
Editorial Advisory Board	: Assoc. Prof. Denise M. Horn (Northeastern University) Dr. Sukawarsini Djelantik (Universitas Khatolik Parahyangan) Philip Vermonte (CSIS Jakarta) Edwin Tambunan (Universitas Pelita Harapan) Widya Setiabudi (Universitas Padjajaran)
Editorial Office	: Program Studi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Gedung Jurusan – FISIP Universitas Andalas, Lt. 2 Kampus LimauManis Padang, 25163 Telp/fax: (0751)71266, :http://ajis.fisip.unand.ac.id/
Homepage	

Andalas Journal of International Studies (AJIS) is published twice a year. It is published by ASSIST, contains research and analytical platform dedicated to a better understanding of International issues and aims to craft the alternatives in International Studies. AJIS welcomes for papers which never been published. Submit your paper to our editorial office in conditional, type in A4, consist of 4000-5000 words in *Turabian Style* formatting.

Andalas Journal of International Studies

Volume 3, No. 1, May 2014

ISSN 2301-8208

The Free Press in Indonesia as Human Security?: A Preliminary Analysis	1
Ali Maksum	
The performance of Free Aceh Movement (GAM) as a Ruling Government 2007-2012.....	17
Sofia Trisni	
Solving the South China Sea Crisis: A Recommendation for Indonesia.....	34
Kevin Ramadhan Sandy	
Kepemerintahan Bencana (<i>Disaster Governance</i>) Asia Tenggara	51
Mohammad Syaban	
Popular Nationalism Dalam Kebijakan Luar Negeri Tiongkok Terhadap Jepang Pada Sengketa Kepulauan Senkaku/Diaoyu	74
Trio Sirmareza	

Preface

First of all, citing the presence of Almighty God, Andalas Journal of International Studies (AJIS) presents the Third Volume, No. 1, May 2014. Our goal in published this journal is to disseminate the results of the researchers' works with various topics and approaches in order to contribute to the development of International Studies both theoretically and practically.

Entering the third year of the publication of this journal, we are grateful and appreciate the interest and delivery of incoming papers. At this volume, there are five papers which is a major theme in volume 3 number 1 is more emphasis on policy issues, especially issues related to the Chinese government's policy in dealing with disputes such as that written by Kevin Ramadan Sandy, entitled Solving the South China Sea Crisis: A Recommendation for Indonesia and by Trio Sirmareza by lifting the title Popular Nationalism in Chinese Foreign Policy towards Japan in the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands Dispute.

In the next paper, Maksum Ali elaborated on The Free Press in Indonesia as Human Security: A Preliminary Analysis. Then Sofia Trisni entitled by the performance of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) as a Ruling Government 2007-2012. And the last written by Muhammad Syaban with title Disaster Governance in South-East Asia.

With the biggest gratitude, we would also like to thank the editorial board, who has worked hard in the preparation of these papers, so in the end it can come up to be a printed journal.

Editorial Team

The Free Press in Indonesia as Human Security?: A Preliminary Analysis

Ali Maksum

Abstract

This paper discusses human security in the context of media threat towards the society in Indonesia. Specifically this paper seeks to explain the development of media liberalization in Indonesia and the impact on civil rights in obtaining the truth information and the quest for true and reliable information. The increasing number of top businessmen owning media companies, following political and economic liberalization has been one of the most important phenomena over the past few years. The acquisition of media companies by businessman and politicians will influence indirectly the content of news reports. Finally, some radical groups have taken advantage of the free press policy to infiltrate Indonesian moderate Muslim society. Overall, media have failed to show their responsibility and seem to be far from the ethics because they are owned by businessmen, politicians and interest groups.

Key Words: media, businessman, politics, interest, civil rights.

Introduction

Indonesia's *reformasi* (reformation) in 1998 definitely became a momentum of Indonesian political transformation after more than three decades under the rule of Suharto's New Order and his military regime. That era was followed by the implementation of regional autonomy programs which give regional parliaments and governments more authority to organize local politics. It also entailed that people can control and express directly their interests including their human security concerns to government in district levels (below the provincial levels) (Eby Hara 2007). In this context, democratization gives opportunity to

people without exception to define their interest and "security" during Suharto administration. The liberalization of media and information became urgent because under Suharto regime, Indonesian people were deprived from their rights to obtain the trustworthy and reliable information. After the fall of Suharto in 1998, political and subsequently media environment in Indonesia changed from authoritarian and strong state control to the current situation which is characterized by liberalization, a highly competitive market, and a significant decrease of state intervention (Hakim 2008). BJ Habibie, who became president after Suharto's resignation enacted "*Undang-Undang Kebebasan*

Media UU No. 40/1999” or media liberation act with the approval of People House of Representatives (DPR).

Nevertheless, almost ten years after the *reformasi*, the role of the media has been transformed because the media have been “occupied” by politicians in order to broadcast their own political agendas. After the first general election in 1999, media industries began to be more market oriented. It peaked in 2009 when “the majority of Indonesian journalists got a greater interest in covering political issues, particularly an obsession with the political manoeuvres of the ex-generals during the 2009 election” (Sebastian and Iisgindarsah 2011). Besides, the media have missed their ethics namely to “educate” people, give responsible information, independent and far from political interest. In reality the media have exploited people’s emotion in order to gain profits. Then, in the open era, Indonesian Islamic society was also threatened by Islamic fundamentalism. Some radical groups have taken advantage of the free press era in order to preach Islamic radicalism through some publications. Thus, where is the truth? Where is the responsibility of the media? Although the people have voices to oppose some issues, the media industry has been “occupied” by interest groups

and some tycoons whose build collaboration with political parties. We believe that the people’s rights have been threatened by some selfish political practitioners and opportunist media entrepreneurs.

This paper discusses human security in the context of media threat towards the society in Indonesia. The “manipulation” of media indicate that “the process of democratisation in Indonesia is far from complete; and although the basic contours of its constitutional order are beginning to emerge, neither the relative powers of the legislative and executive branches, nor their combined ability to govern have been established (Schneier 2009, 295). That is why the civil rights which consists in getting true information is part of human security.

Media in Human Security Perspective

One of the major trends in the study of contemporary International Relations is the shift from a state-centred paradigm to a broader analysis taking into account the increasing role of non state actors. Security studies as well are not just in term of state *per se*, but the study of threats towards people’s rights and political marginalization can also be defined as part

of security. Scholars have conceptualized human security in various definitions and aspects. Taylor Owen (2004) argues that “by refocusing our attention on the issues affecting the most people, human security gives political voice to the otherwise politically marginalized.” Specifically, according to Taylor Owen human security is the protection of the vital core of all human lives from critical and pervasive environmental, economic, food, health, personal and political threats (2004, 383). Meanwhile, according to Edward Newman (2001) “human security is ‘freedom from want’ and ‘freedom from fear’: positive and negative freedoms and rights. Human Security is a normative, ethical movement and it also rests upon self-interested empirical reason.”

In the context of socio-political life, human security is very connected to the basic rights of the citizens and the impact of the government’s public policies towards social life. Not surprisingly “The literature on these subjects is rich not only in analysis of particular problems and causes, but also in implications for public policy (Hampson 2008, 230). At times, this will mean that human security should operate less as a policy agenda within existing political structures and discourses

than as a radical critique of those practices (Bellamy and McDonald 2002, 376).

Whereas, Kanti Bajpai (2000) explicitly highlights that security is symbolized by the protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression, and environmental hazards. Simply, in treating human security as a policy agenda, most criticisms of this approach have departed from the way security is constituted and operates in the international system: they necessarily obscure the political nature of security (2000, 283). Thus, McDonald (2002) suggested that researchers have to turn against government’s policy implementation and its impact towards human security. McDonald also pointed out that “one of alternative security policy agendas is competing for policymakers’ attention, and subsequent implementation” (2002, 284).

Once policy makers have been targeted, the challenge for analysts addressing prescriptive approaches to security is to outline why a particular discourse is consistent with the interests of that actor, and how that actor might go about implementing or “operationalising” that particular policy agenda (McDonald 2002,

284). It became clearer that some problems related to human security such as manipulation through media were a part of the impact of the government's policy agenda. To be sure, McDonald suggests that "if a problem is a security threat, this will make it an issue of high political priority, and will mean that security mechanisms are used to address this threat. While more nuanced traditional approaches to adjudicating between competing security agendas note the importance of context (for example in terms of varying perceptions among actors of the world and their place in it, the overall picture is still one of policy makers choosing definitions of security to which they will adhere (McDonald 2002, 285).

In the case of media roles in Indonesia after years of *reformasi*, the agenda which consisted in liberating information and expression has been deviated into misleading practices. In order to protect people rights, Khagram et.al. (2003) recommends to implement "rights-based and risks-based administration and policy-making focusing on citizenship rather than on business models of servicing customers will be more effective for achieving sustainable security and sustainable development." In Indonesia the political voice of businessmen and interest groups

has been "louder" than the people's voice. In these cases, the government should give priority to 'state building and strengthening activities' and not just exclusively or primarily to supporting non-governmental organizations (2003, 306).

A responsible media equally helps in socialization of people into citizenship, democratization of the state and political society, institutionalization of civic culture through unfettered flow of information, and rationalized use of power in social relations (Yadav2001). Furthermore, Yadav (2001) insisted that media should be more concerned by "perform vital tasks of informing, socializing, communicating and articulating the power of the public and preparing them for social transformation and good governance. It was common that during times leading up to or during conflict the media have a responsibility to inform the public in a way that allows them to make a rational judgement about the government's actions. However, most of the rhetoric at these times tends to be propagandistic and combative in nature (Hutchinson 2008, 35).

William Hutchinson gave important suggestion regarding the role of the media during the conflict which potentially threat

to human security. William's argument was urgent as a guide to media companies as well as to government apparatus in handling "news" in a democratic and liberal era. By quoting some experts in political media, William Hutchinson wrote that media or journalist should:

"Avoid blaming people, or focusing only on the suffering of one group and ask questions that make uncover commonground. This approach was also promulgated by Chomsky (1994) who stated that there was a need for the media to propose peaceful choices and highlight the implications of war rather than just a binary propagandistic approach. As well as the approach which consists in presenting news, the integrity of journalists and media outlets reporting should be maintained. Some reporters such as Anderson (1993) believe that the 'truth' must be told despite the consequences, whilst others such as Bell (1998) argue that, whereas he was trained to believe in objective, balanced and dispassionate reporting, this is was no longer his opinion and adds that, apart from the 'truth', reporting should also be principled. The implication of his argument is that a subjective, moral angle should be included. Ward (1998) counters this view with one that states that reporters must not be moralising but dispassionate

in the sense that preconceptions, interests, or passions must not bias their journalistic output" (Hutchinson 2008, 35).

William's statement indicated that media should be neutral whatever the condition and situation looks like. When we talk about political reformation and transformation movement, the role of university students is to be synonymous with "agent of change." Hence, in the contemporary era we have to say that media is "agent of truth." In doing so, it is difficult because "the communication industries have demonstrated how media corporations have helped to cultivate capitalist/consumerist ideology, legitimize governments or politics expedient to corporate interests and circumscribe the scope of deliberative, democratic participation (Shaw 2011, 251). Some cases are an empirical verification of that statement.

The 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York and on the Pentagon near Washington, DC for instance, were shocking global media events that dominated public attention and provoked reams of discourse, reflection, and writing. These media spectacles were intended to terrorize the US, to attack symbolic targets, and to unfold a terror spectacle Jihad against the West, as well as to

undermine the US dominance on the global economy. The World Trade Centre is an apt symbol of global capitalism in the heart of the New York financial district, while the Pentagon stands as an icon and centre of US military power (Kellner 2004, 41). Many speculations regarding 9/11 those who think that it is a direct consequence of the revival of Islamic Fundamentalism to those who assert that it was a conspiracy implemented by the U.S government itself. In his attempt to make a rational analysis, Douglas Kellner stated that “Osama bin Laden and various groups denominated al Qaeda have used spectacles of terror to promote their agenda in a media-saturated era and how two Bush administrations have also deployed terror spectacle to promote their geo-political ends” (Kellner 2004, 42).

Douglas Kellner's statement is also in keeping with Alyson Bailes's argument that in such a situation businessmen may takeover or interfere into government's policy (Bailes 2008, 17). May be it has brought about so-called “affairs” between government and businessman to implement some projects such as those named “national project or development.” This may be quite rational because according to Alyson in EU's case “business has taken over a further set of

government functions, albeit at varying speeds in different parts of the West (and beyond), as a result of state policies of denationalisation, privatisation and opening domestic markets to full foreign competition (notably in the EU's Single Market)” (Bailes 2008, 17). It means that in EU's case the private sector has gone beyond the role it had formerly been given.

Finally, Bailey emphasized that “business activity (including some things done by legitimate companies and not necessarily defined as illegal) can also be responsible for a number of threats to – and weaknesses in – societal security, whereby business actors damage each other, the interests of citizens, and the viability and authority of the state (Bailes 2008, 18). Thus, it became clearer that the case of media in Indonesia was correspondence in keeping with this theory. Because, the media liberalization has been departed and deviated from the original mandate of *reformasi*. The meaning and essence of liberalization and democracy has been transformed. The principle of Democracy which entails the importance of ethics and moral values has been corrupted by some “pragmatic groups” to obtain personal benefits. Consequently, the civil rights became marginalized and the “truth” has

been occupied by interest groups and entrepreneurs who collaborate with political activists.

Media in Indonesia: from freedom of speech to media capitalization

Soon after BJ Habibie became Indonesia's third president, he had been forced to take a strategic policy to handle economic crisis and settle some particular issues namely the Act on a free press. It was undeniable that Suharto's restriction policy towards media in Indonesia was one of the political tools he resorted to in order to strengthen his own power. Suharto created the so-called "*Dwi Fungsi ABRI*" or "Dual Function" as a guard and implementer of his regime policies. Through *Dwi Fungsi ABRI*, "the military claimed both a national defence role and a more pervasive mission of ensuring the political stability essential to economic development (Schneier 2009, 296). Moreover, *Dwi Fungsi ABRI* also legitimated by Suharto's regime involved in "non-military fields – the legislature, bureaucracy, regional government, to name but a few – and also encouraged the repression of government critics, political parties, a free press and other vestiges of civil society" (2009, 296).

Under the New Order administration, the government only recognizes such media which committed to support Suharto's policy. Among mass media recognized as "speaker" and under Suharto's control are TVRI (*Televisi Republik Indonesia*, Television of Republic of Indonesia), RRI (*Radio Republik Indonesia*, Radio of Republic of Indonesia), *Harian Kompas* and *Harian Suara Karya* (Mallarangen 2010). Conversely, those media who attempted to "criticize" or report the government's weakness and incapability whether in regional or sub-regional would have been banned and arrested by the authorities. Among the national media which were repealed by New Order's regime under the Indonesian Ministry of Information Act, No. 123/1994 were *Tempo*, *Editor* and *Detik* (Latiefah 2012). Moreover, some journalists would be arrested while reporting and releasing news which were seen as threat(s) to "national security." Such a case occurred in 1996 against a journalist named Fuad Muhammad Syafruddin (Udin) of local media in Yogyakarta, Central Java, in the so-called *Akhbar Bernas*. Udin was arrested and murdered by military authority after his criticism towards military and New Order through his publication. Some analysts strongly alleged that Udin's demise was under

intelligence and military operation (Muradi 2006, 90).

Analysts confirmed that this was part of Suharto's strategy to preserve his military power. David Hill pointed out that "immediately after the coup in October 1, 1965, Major General Suharto and his New Order which also declared by himself, started to restrict all the mass media in the country (Kompas 2011). According to Suharto the media restriction was enforced in order to permit the government to fight against the "communist threat" (Roosa 2008). Although the international situation changed after the end of the Cold War, Suharto still maintained communism as a national threat. This could be substantiated by the existence of a Commando for Security Operation and Order Restoration or *Komando Operasi Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban (Komkamtib)* which was established in 1965 and which lasted until the collapse of Suharto in 1998, albeit the name has changed to Coordination Bureau for Enhancement of National Stability or *Badan Koordinasi Bantuan Pemantapan Stabilitas Nasional (Bakorstanas)* (Roosa 2008, 14, 15). Under these agencies mass media were controlled and their publications which the

government deemed to be threats were banned.

However, *reformasi* which took place in May 1998 after a mass demonstration in Jakarta -the capital of Indonesia- brought about dramatic changes. As successor of Suharto after the resignation of the latter, Habibie was urged by Indonesian people to implement political action in various sectors as well as to enact the free press Act. This was accomplished by BJ Habibie's administration in collaboration with People House of Representatives or *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR)* in 1999 after the issuing of a free media Act namely, UU No. 40/1999 as mentioned in early section.

The rise of *reformasi* has transformed the social and political structures in Indonesia. Freedom of speech became a new political tradition in Indonesia. The spirit of *reformasi* paved a way for Indonesian people to entering a more liberal and open era. The *reformasi* era has stimulated the emergence of many publications such as magazines, tabloid and books without permission from the authorities as well as many new publishers which exploit "people's emotion" and market demands (Zada 2011). Since then, the growth of mass media industry was very significant

and subsequently followed by the increase of the number of mass media companies.

According to Amir Purba (2006) during the New Order era Suharto's administration only approved 321 applications for publication. On the Contrary, the *reformasi* brought about an increasing in number of approvals which was twice as much important as during the New Order or was more than doubled. This indicates that in the post *reformasi* the role of media increased in Indonesian democracy and political development. However, the function of mass media has been transformed because mass media are not only reporting, discussing or criticizing, but they were also exploited by interest groups to gain political support in national election in 2009 (Sebastian and Iisgindarsah 2011, 30). Definitely, it was contradict with the vision of a free press put forward by the *reformasi* in 1998. The aim of the establishment of a free press was to accommodate people's aspirations. However, this objective has undergone substantial change since some of the mass

media were more profit-oriented. According to Amir Purba, the government did not have full authority to control the media (Purba 2006, 42). Consequently, the role of business practitioners has substantially increased so that "the content of mass media notably news were prone to be more pragmatic and not objective in order to gain financial benefits rather than to educate and give useful information to the people (2006: 43) .

While observing the development of media industry in Indonesia, one may denote a slight decrease. Mass media which act as a tool of expression in the democratic era have been transformed and occupied by mass media entrepreneurs and capitalists. The recent phenomena demonstrate that some of the owners of the media companies were "national top businessmen." Among them some are affiliated with political party such as Surya Paloh, Hary Tanoesoedibjo, Bakrie family and others. Below is a non exhaustive list of popular businessmen and tycoons who "occupy" national mass-media.

The list of mass media in Indonesia under businessman control

No	Media	Owners	Affiliation
1.	TV: RCTI; Global TV; TPI Radio: Triajaya Network (6 stations); ARH-Global; Radio Dangdut TPI; Women Radio	Hary Tanoesoedibjo (MNC Group)	Former member of Partai Nasdem. He currently moved to Partai Hanura after a disputes with Surya Paloh the owner of Media Group
2.	TV: Indosiar Radio: Elshinta (12 stations and collaborate with other 54 stations)	Anthoni Salim (Salim Group)	Among the richest people and the owner of the largest food industry “Indofood Sukses Makmur”
3.	Radio: Sonora Group, <i>Kompas</i>	Jacob Oetama (Kompas-Gramedia)	The 39th richest people in Indonesia (Forbes Magazine)
4.	TV: SCTV	Sariatmadja Family	The 33rd richest people in Indonesia 2007.
6.	TV: ANTV, TV One	Anindya Bakrie (Bakrie Group)	Bakri Group and Abu Rizal Bakrie the chairman of Partai Golkar
7.	TV: JTV Surabaya; Batam TV; Riau TV, Jawa Pos	Dahlan Iskan (Jawa Pos Group)	Minister of State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN) in the current Indonesian cabinet and predicted will be nominated as president candidate under Partai Demokrat
8.	TV: Trans TV, Trans 7	Chaerul Tanjung (Para Group)	The owner of Carrefour Indonesia and among the 18th richest people in Indonesia (Forbes Magazine, 2012)
11.	TV: Metro TV, Media Indonesia	Surya Paloh (Media Group)	The Founder of Partai Nasdem, the 99th richest people in Indonesia (Globe Asia 2011)
12.	TV: Jak-TV, the Jakarta Globe, Republika Radio: Radio One (expected 5 stations)	Eric Thohir (Mahaka Group)	The owner of NBA basketball club Philadelphia 76ers, Italian Serie A FC Inter Milan, the US Major League Soccer D.C. United and Persib Bandung FC in Indonesian Super League. Among the richest people in Indonesia.

Source: Adapted and modified from Purba (2006: 44).

The data above illustrate the fact that ten national TV stations owned by businessman as well as political activist concurrently. The details are RCTI, Global TV and TPI/MNC TV which under the umbrella MNC Group, owned by one named Hary Tanoesoedibjo who is the former patron member of Partai Nasdem. Following his disputes with Partai Nasdem, on 17th February 2013, Hary announced that he had left Nasdem party and joined Hanura party (Hati Nurani Rakyat) and sit as vice-patron of the party. Previously, Hary enjoy his position in Nasdem by argues that “I am optimistic about the prospect of the party and I believe that Nasdem have a big chance to be number one party in the next general election (Partai Nasdem 2012). While the founder of Partai Nasdem itself, namely Surya Paloh occupied Metro TV (Media Group) as one of the most famous news channel TV station in Indonesia. Meanwhile, TV One and ANTV are also under control of business network of the incumbent chairman of Partai Golkar, Abu Rizal Bakrie. Even the business is running by his son, one can assume that it will bring indirectly a political message of Partai Golkar. In Partai Nasdem case for instance, the party which had been existing for less than a year, the advertisement has been more important particularly in Metro TV and MNC Group compared to other parties. According to Jakarta based institute, *Lembaga Survei Indonesia* or Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) Partai Nasdem is one of the most popular political parties in the recent survey (Waspada Online 2012). Some comments have argued that the achievement of Partai

Nasdem was largely due to the advertisement trough the media regularly minute by minute along with various versions and character such as workers version, student version, train officer version, security guard version, and young executive (Waspada Online 2012).

The acquisition of media companies by businessman and politicians will indirectly influence the news content. Obviously “the content tends to support their ideology and interest (Purba 2006, 44). Another blatant example is the emergence of anti-Malaysia sentiment in the contemporary bilateral relations. According to Des Alwi, who was the key figure in Indonesia-Malaysia peace process in the post confrontation, “some issues became more complicated because have blown up by pragmatic TV stations in order to gain an advantage (Othman et.al. 2009, xv-xvii). Meanwhile Sam-el Ladh (2009) argues that “the Ambalat case “has been taken over” by mass media so that it brought about the spread of tension and made angry many Indonesian people and stimulated the raise of anti-Malaysia sentiment along with “*Ganyang Malaysia*” or “Crush Malaysia” slogan. It was also admitted by Malaysia Foreign Minister at that time, Syed Hamid Albar that the tension between Indonesia and Malaysia was due to the propaganda by national media (Gatra 2005). The “political interference” in the Ambalat case through mass media was very likely. Because, according to Schofield and Storey “...the media has been swift to latch on to the dispute as a vehicle to promote patriotic fervour, which has served government interests by distracting public attention

from the controversial and unpopular fuel price hikes, averaging 29 percent, implemented from March 1, 2005. In a sense, therefore, Ambalat has proved a useful pressure valve for the government from domestic concerns (Schofield and Storey 2005). Hence, the raise of anti-Malaysia sentiment was very upsetting because the media have jeopardized the harmonious relationship between Indonesian and Malaysian. Some Malaysian scholars argued that “we unconsciously have been given too many negative images in the relationship between the two nations. While at the same time, the relations between the two countries were actually very close in several areas such as cultural relations, economics, sports, etc.” (Dollah and Mohamad 2007).

The recent trend of media publication notably television is the rapid of infotainment programme. The gossip news was more popular and interesting to the audience than news report. Furthermore, the unqualified programme like gossip to mystic became more dominant in the screen than education programmes (Republika 2012). It indicates that mass media have manipulated and abused people in the pursuit of particular interest. Moreover, the concept of “bad news is good news” seems to have become a new paradigm among mass media in Indonesia. The gossip which is basically a matter of personal intimacy does not deserve to be published, whereas the most urgent issues for the society are marginalized (Republika2012). This was in total contradiction with the ethics of the media based on the principle that their publications should be idealist,

independent and put forward smart ideas in order to educate people. This idealistic vision of the media's roles is crucial to the society since they can foster critical audience and critical listener, independent and critical thinking (Dahlan 2011, 399).

Unfortunately, many media leaders are still framed by business tradition namely applying market logic in the publication industries. In doing so, journalism is reduced to an economic machine with its main goal being the increase in profits. Economic pragmatism forced mass media to adopt a “short-cut” way in order to fill the demand of media management (Dahlan 2011, 400). Consequently, the management of television and electronic media has forced to increase the rating of the news product to improve the company's profit. While the management team of printed media are making every endeavour to make “advertisement space” to those who will advertise his products (2011: 401). According to Dahlan not just journalist who should learn journalism ethics, but also the owners and share holders of the media institution also has to learn the ethics. It is very crucial to make a synergy between needs and interests, demand and supply in order to protect civil rights in getting the quality and honest information (2011: 407).

Finally, the freedom of press policy after the *reformasi* era was exploited by Islamic radical groups to infiltrate Indonesian Muslim society. The radicalisation of publication by some Islamic fundamentalist groups became a threat especially to the Islamic society in Indonesia. In fact, they represent not only a threat to Islamic society which is

committed to implementing moderate Islam, but this also jeopardizes Indonesian national sovereignty in general (please see Abdurrahman Wahid et.al. 2009). A research reports that the publisher of “Islamic books” was collaborated with such organizations for example *Penerbit Pustaka At-Taqwa* (owned by Abu Salma, a Salafi¹; *Penerbit Darul Falah* owned by *Amirul Mukminin* (leader), a former NII (*Negara Islam Indonesia*, Indonesia Islamic State) KW 9 member and currently a Salafi; *Rabbani Pers* suspected has close relations with Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) and has published *Tarbiyah Islamiyah* Module and *Marhalah* Module for trainee and teacher (*murabbi*) in the PKS recruitment (Zada 2011, 13).

Khamami Zada (2011) remarks that “in the late five years, hundreds of Islamic publisher regularly active to participate in Islamic Book Fair. Dozens of them also regularly publish the Islamic radical books. Among them is *Penerbit Jazeerah Solo* which has made a controversial publication *Aku Melawan Teroris* or I Challenge the Terrorist (published in 2005) by the author Imam Samudra, who is a perpetrator of the series of bombing activities in Indonesia including Bali Bombing in 2002. This book has been reprinted five times and at least around four thousand copies sold out. Afterwards, *Jazeera* publication regularly active to publish books written by some Al-Qaeda activists such as Aiman Al-Zawahiri, an intellectual allegedly close to Osama Bin Laden, and Syekh Abu Mush’ab Az-

Zarqawi, *Amir Tandzim* Al-Qaeda, Iraq (2011:16). According to Khamami Zada (2011) the political changes after the *reformasi* has transformed the trend of Islamic publication and this at odds with the trends of New Order era. The radicalization of Islamic publication was camouflage under the *Jihad* agenda against tyrant and authoritarian government which does not implement Islamic Law called *Shari’ah*.

Conclusion

This paper concluded that irresponsible media as a part of the area of human security studies. Indeed media which have been increasingly occupied by businessman, politicians and interest groups have indirectly marginalized civil rights while developing a tendency to be more profit-oriented. The society has lost their rights to gain truth, honesty and responsible information. The evidence has shown that some information was manipulated in order to gain political advantages. Unconsciously, the society has been forced to receive and consume the information which allegedly has been “manipulated” by such interest groups. Moreover, the impact of increasing freedom of the media has been exploited by radical groups preaching Islamic radicalism through their publications. In general, the society did not obtain responsible and objective information yet, because of the businessman, politicians and interest groups controlling the media.

References

Books

¹For further discussion about Salafi’s motivation please see Assaf Moghadam (2008/9); history of Salafi/Wahabi movement please see Abdurrahman Wahid (2009); Jamhari and Jahroni Jajang (2004).

Hampson, Fen Osler, 2008. "Human Security," in Williams, Paul D. (ed.), 2008. *Security Studies: An Introduction*. London and New York: Routledge.

Jamhari and Jahroni Jajang (eds.), 2004. *Gerakan Salafi Radikal di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Rajawali Press.

Mallarangen, Rizal, 2010. *Pers Orde Baru: Tinjauan Isi Kompas dan Suara Karya*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Popular Gramedia dan Freedom Institute.

Muradi, 2006. "Intelijen Negara dan Intelijen Keamanan: Perspektif Kepemimpinan Politik Dan Efektivitas Koordinasi," in Widjajanto, Andi (ed.), 2006. *Negara, Intel, dan Ketakutan*. Jakarta: PACIVIS, Center for Global Civil Society Studies, University of Indonesia.

Othman, Mohamad Redzuan, et.al., 2009. *Setengah Abad Hubungan Malaysia-Indonesia*. Shah Alam: Arah Publications.
Roosa, John, 2008. *Dalih Pembunuhan Massal: Gerakan 30 September dan Kudeta Suharto*. Jakarta: Institut Sejarah Sosial Indonesia dan Hasta Mitra.

Wahid, Abdurrahman, 2009. *Ilusi Negara Islam: Eksnansi Gerakan Islam Transnasional di Indonesia*. Jakarta: The Wahid Institute.

Journals

Bellamy, Alex J. and Matt McDonald, 2002. "The Utility of Human Security": Which Humans? What Security? A Reply to Thomas & Tow." *Security Dialogue* 33(3): 373-377.

Dahlan, Abdul Choliq, 2011. "Hukum, Profesi Jurnalistik dan Etika Media Massa." *Jurnal Hukum* 25(1): 394-411.

Dollah, Ramli and Ahmad Mosfi Mohamad, 2007. "Perdagangan Tukar

Barang Malaysia-Indonesia: Potensi Dan Cabaran." *Jati* (12): 83-106.

Kellner, Douglas, 2004. "9/11, spectacles of terror, and media manipulation: A critique of Jihadist and Bush media politics." *Critical Discourse Studies* 1(1):41-64.

Khagram, Sanjeev, William C. Clark, and Dana Firas Raad. 2003. "From the Environment and Human Security to Sustainable Security and Development." *Journal of Human Development* 4(2): 289-313.

Mcdonald, Matt, 2002. "Human Security and the Construction of Security." *Global Society* 16(3): 277-295.

Moghadam, Assaf, 2008/9. "Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks." *International Security* 33(3): 46-78.

Newman, Edward, 2001. "Human Security and Constructivism." *International Studies Perspectives* (2): 239-251.

Owen, Taylor, 2004. "Human Security—Conflict, Critique and Consensus: Colloquium Remarks and a Proposal for a Threshold-Based Definition." *Security Dialogue* 35(3): 373-387.

Purba, Amir, 2006. "Perkembangan Kehidupan Pers dari Masa Rezim Orde Baru ke Masa Rezim Reformasi." *Jurnal Wawasan* 12(1): 40-46.

Schneier, Edward V., 2009. "Reformasi and the Indonesian 'War on Terror': State, Military and Legislative—Executive Relations in an Emerging Democracy." *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 15(2/3): 294-313.

Schofield, Clive and Ian Storey, 2005. "Energy Security and Southeast Asia: The Impact on Maritime Boundary

and Territorial Disputes.” *Harvard Asia Quarterly* 9(4).

Shaw, Padmaja, 2011. “Free media, labour and citizenship rights in a democracy.” *Observatorio (OBS) Journal* 5(1): 245-265.

Zada, Khamami, 2011. “Wajah Radikal Penerbitan Islam di Indonesia.” *Indo-Islamika* 1(1): 1-19.

Working Paper

Alkire, Sabina, 2003. “A Conceptual Framework for Human Security,” CRISE Working Paper no.2, Oxford, UK: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, University of Oxford.

Bajpai, Kanti, 2000. “Human Security: Concept and Measurement,” Kroc Institute Occasional Paper no.9, Notre Dame, IN: Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame.

Bailes, Alyson, 2008. “What role for the private sector in ‘societal security’?” EPC Issue Paper No.56, Brussels: The European Policy Centre’s Programme on EU Integration and Citizenship, European Policy Centre.

Bustami, Reevany, Azhari Karim, and Ali Maksum, 2012. “Why are they angry at us: G-M-P Twin Quadrants and Indonesian-Malaysian Relations,” paper presented at the 6th Indonesia-Malaysia Relations Conference 2012, Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya, Indonesia.

Eby Hara, Abu Bakar, 2007. “Promoting women security as human security: Indonesian women attempt to find their place in the newly Indonesia democracy,” paper presented at the International Development Studies Conference On “Mainstreaming Human Security: The

Asian Contribution”, Chulalongkorn University; Bangkok, Thailand.

Hakim, Lukman, 2008. “Media Democratization in Indonesia Post-New Order Regime.” Paper presented at The University of New England, Armidale, Australia.

Hutchinson, William. 2008. “Media, government and manipulation: the cases of the two Gulf Wars.” Proceedings of the 9th Australian Information Warfare and Security Conference, Edith Cowan University, Perth, Western Australia.

Sebastian, Leonard C. and Iisgindarsah, 2011. “Assessing 12-year Military Reform in Indonesia: Major Strategic Gaps for the Next Stage of Reform,” RSIS Working Paper no. 227, Singapore, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies.

Yadav, Lal Babu, 2001. “Role of Media in Promoting Good Governance.” paper presented at the Telegraph Weekly/FES National Level Media Seminar, Kathmandu, Nepal.

Newspaper and Online Resources

Kompas, 2011. “Pers di Era Orde Baru Alami Kepahitan” available at <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2011/08/12/18423593/Pers.di.Era.Orde.Baru.Alami.Kepahitan> [accessed 21 June 2012].

Latiefah, Shefti L., “Pembreidelan Tempo dan Dampaknya Terhadap kebebasan Pers pada Era orde Baru di Indonesia” dalam Media Massa dan Sistem Politik: Pembreidelan Tempo, Unpublished paper, Jakarta: Kajian Media Universitas Paramadina, available at <http://id.scribd.com/doc/34003432/Makalah-Pembreidelan-Tempo> [accessed 21 June 2012].

Partai NasDem, 2012. "Niat Hary Tanoe Merapat ke Nasdem Murni Pengabdian," available at Parti Nasdem official websites <http://www.partainasdem.org/2012/05/22/niat-hary-tanoe-merapat-ke-nasdem-murni-pengabdian/> [accessed 22 June 2012].

Republika, 2012. "Perkembangan Media Massa di Indonesia." Available at <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/rol-to-school/tim-jurnalistik-sma-se-jakarta-timur/12/05/23/m4gq6k-perkembangan-media-massa-di-indonesia> [accessed 9 August 2012]

Waspada Online, 2012. "Masyarakat tiap jam disuguhi iklan NasDem." Available at http://waspada.co.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=238020:masyarakat-tiap-jam-disuguhi-iklan-nasdem&catid=17:politik&Itemid=30 [accessed 9 August 2012]

PETUNJUK PENULISAN

1. Artikel harus orisinal dan belum pernah dimuat di media penerbitan lain atau sedang dipertimbangkan untuk dipublikasikan.
2. Tulisan ditulis dalam Bahasa Indonesia dan Bahasa Inggris
3. Jumlah kata 4000-5000 Kata dengan format penulisan *Turabian Style*.
4. Sistematika Penulisan artikel sebagai berikut :
 - a. Judul (spesifik dan efektif, maksimal 15 kata)
 - b. Nama Penulis
 - c. Abstrak dalam Bahasa Inggris (150-200 kata)
 - d. Kata-kata kunci (5 kata)
 - e. Pendahuluan
 - f. Metode Penelitian (untuk artikel hasil penelitian)
 - g. Hasil dan pembahasan
 - h. Kesimpulan dan Saran
 - i. Bibliografi
5. Berikut adalah contoh penulisan (Style Turabian) catatan kaki (**N**) dan sekaligus contoh penulisan pada bibliografi (**B**). Panduan ini berasal dari buku *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* ed. yang ditulis Kate L. Turabian.

Catatan: Pengutipan pada sumber berupa ide atau kutipan langsung harus muncul dalam catatan kaki dalam angka yang berurutan.

Pengutipan untuk pertama kalinya harus dilakukan secara penuh; nama (nama pertama lebih dulu), judul, tempat, penerbit, tahun dan nomor halaman atau bagian yang dikutip. Pengutipan selanjutnya untuk karya yang sama bisa disingkat.

Buku

Dua Penulis

N 1. Kai Bird and Martin J. Sherwin, *American Prometheus: The Triumph and Tragedy of J. Robert Oppenheimer* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 52.

B Bird, Kai, and Martin J. Sherwin. *American Prometheus: The Triumph and Tragedy of J. Robert Oppenheimer*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.

Bentuk Singkat dari Satu karya yang sebelumnya sudah pernah dikutip

Ketika satu karya yang dikutip telah dikutip sebelumnya dan langsung pada satu halaman berikutnya dikutip.

N 20. Philip Ball, *Bright Earth: Art and the Invention of Color* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001), 140.

N 21. Ibid., 145.

Jika karya yang dikutip sudah pernah dikutip sebelumnya, tapi tidak langsung pada satu halaman yang sama dan hanya satu karya dari penulis yang sama pernah dikutip

N 22. Ball, 204.

Jika dua atau lebih karya sudah pernah dikutip sebelumnya, gunakan tambahan judul singkat

N 23. Ball, *Bright Earth*, 204.

6. Naskah dialamatkan pada Program Studi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Gedung
Jurusan – FISIP Universitas Andalas, Lt. 2 Kampus Limau Manis Padang, 25163
Telp/fax: (0751)71266,

Formulir berlangganan Andalas Journal of International Studies	
Mohon dicatat sebagai pelanggan Andalas Journal of International Studies	
Nama :	
Alamat :	
Telp/ HP :	
e-mail :	
Jumlah Berlanggan : Eksamplar
Biaya berlangganan saya kirim lewat rekening a/n Bank no Rekening	

Biaya berlangganan 1 eksamplar atau 1 edisi terbit Rp. 35.000, sudah termasuk Ongkos kirim

Andalas Journal of International Studies, is a journal for scholars, observers, and researchers in international studies in expressing ideas and thoughts related to the dynamic and issues of international relations. The dynamics of contemporary in international relations are increasingly complex. It demands the academic community to provide ideas that are more creative, brilliant and helpful for humanity. From these conditions, this journal comes to participate in scholarly discourse within the framework of strengthening the scientific community of international relations more solid and dynamic. **Andalas Journal of International Studies** to carry the ideals of unity not only in the frame of the mainstream, but is also present in the struggle optimism alternative ideas, like the spirit of crafting the alternatives from the corner of the community in the ideal arrangement for a better understanding in International Studies

ISSN 2301-8208



9 772301 820007